

Secretary to the Council.—The title of the Bill is "The Cochin Kuries Regulation Amendment Bill".

Mr. A. Narayana Menon.—I beg to move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee consisting of the Diwan Peishkar, the Law Member, the Deputy President, Messrs. V. K. Kutty, E. Ikkanda Warriar, P. Sankunni Menon, George Parakkal and the mover with instructions to report within two months.

Motion put and carried.

Mr. President.—The Deputy President will be the Chairman.

Resolutions (contd.)

17. Constitutional Reforms in the State (contd.)

* **Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan.**—Mr. President, Sir, the resolution under discussion reads thus:— "*This Council recommends to introduce further constitutional reforms including the appointment of at least two ministers enjoying the confidence of the Legislature to carry on the administration in co-operation with the Diwan*". In supporting this Resolution I wish to place before this House that what is asked for through this resolution and much more than that was once intended to be given to the loyal subjects of His Highness the ex-Maharajah whose likeness adorns our wall there, and it was of difficulties that emanated from certain responsible corners in granting reforms to the extent to which His Highness wanted to give that the matter could not be had at that time. When His Highness the ex-Maharajah was told that an institution of the type existing at that time in Mysore and other places alone could be given to us, bodies like the petitioning body alone could be granted to us, it was that attitude taken up by responsible corners that induced His Highness to give up that idea. Therefore it fell to the lot of His Highness the late Maharajah to inaugurate this Council in the form it was done, and in inaugurating this House His Highness is seen to have made the following significant observations: "*As I have repeatedly announced on previous occasions it has ever been my earnest desire to associate my people in an increasing measure with the Government of the State and I feel happy that that desire has this day been fulfilled*". These are the words of encouragement that emanated

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

from His Highness the late Maharajah to whom, as I said before, fell the good fortune to inaugurate this Council. We concede, Sir, that as a first step the beginning was alright. We were given a non-official majority, we were given, as has been said here, the right to put questions for eliciting information and such other rights that we now enjoy. We are thankful for that. The voluntary boon conferred upon us by the late Maharajah is accepted and our thanks are due to the proper quarters. Ten years have gone by subsequent to that memorable pronouncement and where do we stand today? I also concede that during these 10 years some advancement has been made, but I ask for more. From the right of putting questions for eliciting information and putting supplementary questions by persons who put the question we are now at the stage of being able to put supplementary questions by all the Members. It is I concede a great boon. We are also given the further privilege that we had not at the initial stage of electing our own Deputy President. These I admit are great things when compared with what we had in the beginning. I also give expression to the feelings of gratitude of the people in the extended franchise that was given for this present Council although it has fallen short of our expectations. What we were expecting and what we were told we would have was adult franchise—if not adult franchise, franchise down to the extent of Re. 1 tax qualification. That could not be, for what reasons. I do not know.

What we now ask for is a step forward. It used almost to be a practice with this Council in all the budget sessions and at other times also to request the Government to give us more of constitutional reforms. There was not a budget session which in considering the demand under General Administration did not press a motion for grant of further constitutional reforms. Year after year it used to be brought to the notice of the Government and the President of the House in whose hands the destinies of the State were entrusted—I refer to our ex-Diwan, Diwan Bahadur T. S. Narayana Iyer—used to tell us that Councils of this sort must be considered to be an infant, “You have to wait and in the fullness of time”—an expression voiced forth from the other side yesterday—“what you want will be granted to you”. We were patient enough to wait for four years and when we found that even what we now enjoy namely the right to elect the Deputy President, and the right to put supplementary questions were not granted to us we took a step that was available to us to open the eyes of the Government, to make the outside world understand, that the citizens of

Cochin are not satisfied with the little things that have been graciously given to them and clamoured for more. With that view we made a humble protest to the Government in the fourth year of the Council. The Government which was very lethargic did not move. Therefore we took a more drastic measure. I am referring to the proceedings of the Budget Session of 1105. In that budget session it was that this House threw out almost all the demands under various heads with the exception of one or two and those too escaped total rejection for obvious reasons. We were forced to take that drastic step but as a measure of protest with the full knowledge that it was not going to give us any relief. It was then that the Diwan, who was on the eve of retirement, gave us a sermon. He in his concluding remarks is seen to have made a categorical statement of the demands that used to be made from this House by no less a person than the Hon'ble Member then representing the constituency of Jews. He enumerated five or six demands that used to be made by that Hon'ble Member, a friend and lover of Cochin. There in the concluding remarks of the President it is stated that we were asking for (1) an elected Deputy President, and (2) right of supplementary questions by all. These two things we have and we are thankful for the same. (3) The formation of an Executive Council—not granted. (4) The grant of a ministry responsible to the Council, and (5) a Government of Cochin Act on the lines of the Government of India Act. These were the demands that used to be made in this House and in the speech to which I have made reference these demands used to be often categorically enumerated and, perhaps making a pointed reference to his official career, he seemed to have told us that if a child were to ask for very great things he must understand that he will not be given anything. If for instance a Tahsildar or a District Munsiff soon after his appointment to that post asks to be made the Diwan of Cochin it will never be done. That Hon'ble friend of ours stated in that speech that he has to work efficiently as a Munsiff, he has to give satisfaction in his work and after satisfying the authorities in that position he will be promoted and if his work is found satisfactory finally you can expect him to be made the Diwan. That was the sermon that was given to us and he told us that five years in the life of a Council was a small period. 'Wait, wait, and the Government is sure to give you what you want'. I ask whether sufficient time has not elapsed, whether the working of what has been granted to us has not been satisfactory and whether they are not convinced that if more is given to us we will utilise it to the best advantage of the people. What has

been given to us has been rightly utilised and therefore we are competent to get more. Have not five more years passed from that date and are we not 10 years wiser after the inauguration of this Council? I do not claim perfection for the non-officials. Any how I claim this much that a dispassionate man must be convinced and I am sure it must have convinced the present Diwan that it is safe to entrust responsibility into the hands of these representatives of the people. With the knowledge of 10 years on this side is it too much, Sir, to request for the grant of something more, something more tangible, one or two other things for which we were clamouring from the very outset. Are not the Government satisfied by our working of what has been given to us that it is safe to give us something more? I ask the present Diwan whether he has not been satisfied by a perusal of the proceedings of this House—which I believe he has made fully when he made the observation during the budget session of this year—that the working of this Council must be considered to have been satisfactory. In those observations made in Karkitagam 1110 when various Hon'ble Members were referring to the grant of more constitutional reforms, the Hon'ble President is seen to have made a very significant observation namely that though reference has been made in the various speeches by the various Members to the grant of further constitutional reforms nothing tangible, nothing definite has been pointed out and he was pleased at any rate at that time to find a concrete proposal made by one Hon'ble Member, the Hon'ble Member representing the South Ezhuvas. Pointed reference is seen to have been made by the Hon'ble President and in further explaining his position while he is the Diwan of Cochin the Hon'ble President is seen to have made some significant observations. In the concluding remarks he is seen to have made a reference to the administrative reforms that have been made just on the eve of the budget session. He has stated in those remarks that the reform that he made in the Secretariat is the beginning of further reforms and he told us that without an efficient Secretariat which will function whether the head of the administration is there or not it was impossible to effect further reforms. As such a Secretariat was constituted soon after the advent of the Diwan and since he has gained six months' experience of the working of this Council by sitting in his official Chair whenever it was possible for him to do so I submit to this House that he will be the person who will admit that it will not be unsafe to grant this request made by the Hon'ble Member for South Ezhuvas. The resolution under discussion asks for something more than what was requested to be

granted by the Hon'ble Member for South Ezhuvas. It asks for a further constitutional reform including at least two ministers. If Sir Shanmukham has been pleased to observe that the working of the Council has been satisfactory, if he is satisfied that it is safe to entrust them with responsibility, I submit that he is the best person to give us that. With Sir Shanmukham with all his parliamentary fame as the Head of the Administration I say these are the best times when we can expect to have further reforms. I am sure that we will certainly have all these before he leaves this State and surely some before long. With this hope and with the request that he may be pleased to render advice in the proper quarter to give us what we ask for I resume my seat.

Mr. K. S. Manickam.—Mr. President, Sir, time and again it has been urged on the floor of this House that constitutional reforms should be granted to this Legislative Council. The history of the granting of those reforms has been very well depicted by the historian of this Council, the Hon'ble Member for Wadakkancheri. The story that he has presented to us only reminds me of the story of the child that was given a mirror when it cried for the moon. When Members on this side of the House clamoured for more constitutional reforms shadows of those reforms were bestowed on them. Such was the history of the progress of the granting of constitutional reforms to this House when, Sir, you made your appearance as the Diwan of Cochin and as the President of the Legislative Council. Your advent into our midst, Sir, infused into our minds feelings of hope that your career of office as the Diwan of Cochin will be symptomatic of a large stride in the progress of this Legislative Council. We had every reason to believe that because you were the first person who was appointed as the Diwan who, prior to his taking office as Diwan, was an eminent politician of name and fame. Plunging into the arena of politics at the comparatively early age of 26, Sir, you had been fighting in various fields for constitutional reforms and for the recognition of popular rights. Your opening speech during the Budget Session on the constitution of the advisory committees infused into us stronger hopes that your regime here as the Diwan will synchronise with a period of granting larger political reforms to this country. (Hear, hear,). Your appearance inspired the youths of this country to associate themselves to a greater extent with the political, economic and social problems of the day. Sir, you went in even to the great extent of reforming the very environments of

this chamber. You modelled this on the model of the Legislative Assembly. The walls of this Chamber were panelled. The seats of this Council were rearranged. The Presidential Dais was further dignified. These actions of yours made us anticipate that these were but visible signs of a large vista of constitutional progress that was to follow behind. But quite unfortunately, Sir, you stopped where you began. The various resolutions that were passed in the House during the two previous meetings except a few were waived aside by a stroke of your pen. These news came to us as a "bolt from the blue". We thought that during the Diwanship of a person who has been looming large in the political horizon of not only India but of Europe and other western countries, during the Diwanship of one who had fought in one capacity and other, at home and abroad, for the recognition of popular rights, for the establishment of the popular form of Government for our country, our resolutions would have met with a better fate. But, Sir, quite unfortunately for us our hopes were frustrated.

Sir, we congratulate you and we feel highly grateful to you for the institution of the advisory committees and other non-official bodies to assist the Government in the carrying on of their ordinary routine work. (Hear, hear). But, Sir, in constituting these advisory committees, I beg to submit, you forgot certain restrictions that these non-official bodies were labouring under. Without the removal of these restrictions these advisory bodies were nothing but ineffectual angels beating their luminous wings in the void. (Laughter). Had you, Sir, with the inauguration of these non-official advisory bodies thought a while to remove these restrictions that were imposed on them these bodies would have served better. You would have been hailed as the Simon De Montfort of the Cochin Legislative Council. You would have been hailed as the granter of the Magna Carta of Cochin Liberty. But these things were not our proud privilege. To us, Sir, the privilege was not given to hail you as the saviour of Cochin liberty. It is not too late. I am sure that you will be able to sympathise with our feelings, to sympathise with our aspirations, when we fight for more constitutional reforms in this country. Sir, imagine yourself to be in this seat and what would you have done? History has shown that you have been the fighter of so many popular forms of Government, for the establishment of popular rights and for the recognition of popular rights in one field or other. The wearer of the shoe only knows where it pinches. Don't you who have worn the shoe we are wearing today feel where it pinches?

We are only giving vent to our feelings. We feel that we can legitimately demand constitutional reforms.

Now, I have to say a few words to the Members on the Treasury Benches. If you don't meet us half way and allow the granting of some more constitutional reforms to us I can only warn you that you are hammering us into a united body the tide of which you cannot stem if allowed to grow at this rate. When the whole tide of the non-official body rushes against you and you find that you are not in a position to stem it you officers will be just like reeds beneath the whirlwind. (Hear, hear).

So, Sir, I have only to request you that if we are to expect any constitutional reforms we can naturally expect these things only during the Diwanship of one who has assumed the reins of office after fighting in the political field for a period of nearly 20 years for the recognition of popular rights and for the establishment of a popular form of Government. I again repeat, Sir, that it is not too late to mend. I only request that you will be pleased to grant us more reforms and as regards the working of this Council you yourself have expressed that the criticisms that are offered by us have been of much use to the Government in the carrying on of their routine work. With these remarks from you, Sir, we have reason to believe that during your regime we will be given further constitutional reforms and we only pray that you will be pleased to bestow this on us before it is too late.

* മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. എം. കുഞ്ഞുമൊയ്തീൻ:— സർ, ഏറ്റവും അത്യാവശ്യമായിട്ടുള്ളതും പ്രധാനമായിട്ടുള്ളതുമായ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെക്കുറിച്ച് കൂടുതൽ പ്രസംഗങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ ആവശ്യമുണ്ടെന്നു എനിക്കു തോന്നുന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും അനുഭോഗന്ധ പക്ഷത്തിന്റെ ഏകകണ്ഠമായ അനുകൂലാഭിപ്രായമാണ് ഇതിനുള്ളതെന്നു സ്ഥാപിക്കുന്നതിന്നുവേണ്ടി രണ്ടു വാക്കു സംസാരിക്കാമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുന്നു. “ഞങ്ങൾ പ്രാപ്തന്മാരാണ്, സ്വയം ഭരണത്തിന്നുവേണ്ട പരിശീലനം ഞങ്ങൾക്കുണ്ട്” എന്നും മറ്റും സമർത്ഥിക്കുവാൻ ഇവിടെ ചിലർ പാടുപെടുന്നതു കാണുമ്പോൾ എനിക്കു വ്യസനവും അതൃപ്തവുമാണ് ഉണ്ടാകുന്നത്. ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം ന്യായവാദംകൊണ്ടു ചർച്ചിക്കുന്നതോ യത്നബോധംകൊണ്ടു ഭാനം ചെയ്യാവുന്നതോ ആയ ഒരു വസ്തുവല്ല. രാഷ്ട്രീയാവകാശം എപ്പോഴും സമാധാനപരമായ ‘ആവശ്യപ്പെടൽ’ കൊണ്ടുമാത്രം സമ്പാദിക്കുവാനും സാദ്ധ്യമല്ല. അതു കെഞ്ചി വാങ്ങാമെന്ന മനഃസ്ഥിതി മാരാത്ത കാലത്തോളം ഈ കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തിൽ കാൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂഷണൽ റിഫോം നട

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

പ്പിൽ വരുത്തുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ലെന്ന് അനുഭോഗസ്ഥപക്ഷം മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടതാണ്. ഡാക്ടർ എ. ആർ. മേനോൻ അവർകൾ ഇന്നലെ പറഞ്ഞ അഭിപ്രായത്തോടു ഞാൻ യോജിക്കുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം പറഞ്ഞതുപോലെ ഈ കൗൺസിലിൽ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു സിദ്ധിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള എത്രയും പരിമിതമായ അധികാരങ്ങൾ വച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണു ഞങ്ങൾ വാദിയെന്നത്. ഈ കൗൺസിലിനുള്ളിൽ നിന്നുകൊണ്ടുമാത്രം പരിശ്രമിച്ചാൽ നമുക്കു ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം എങ്ങിനെ ലഭിക്കും? കൗൺസിലിന്റെ പുറത്ത് പ്രക്ഷോഭങ്ങൾ നടത്തി ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്രക്കാർ കൂടുതൽ ഭരണസ്വാതന്ത്ര്യം കരസ്ഥമാക്കി. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള പദ്ധതി നാമും തുടരണം. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നല്ലെങ്കിൽ നാളെ തീച്ചയായും നാം ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്ന ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരം കൈവരും. കൂടക്കൂടെ ചെയ്യുന്ന ഈ മുറവിലികളൊന്നും ആവശ്യമില്ല. ഗവർണ്മെണ്ടിന്റെ ഔദാര്യം ഇവിടെ ആവശ്യമില്ല. നാം എല്ലാവരും യോജിച്ച് ഈ കൗൺസിലിനു വെളിയിൽ വേണ്ടി വന്നാൽ ഡയറക്ടർ ആക്കു ഷനു കൂടി തയ്യാറുള്ള വിധത്തിൽ പ്രക്ഷോഭം നടത്തുവാൻ കാര്യം കാൺസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂഷണൽ റീഫോം ആ നിമിഷം നമുക്കു കരസ്ഥമാക്കാവുന്നതാണ്. അതിനുള്ള മനുഷ്യമിതി ഇവിടുത്തെ അനുഭോഗസ്ഥപക്ഷത്തിന് ഉണ്ടാകണമെന്ന അപേക്ഷയോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഈ പ്രമേയത്തെ പിന്തുടരുന്നു.

* മിസ്റ്റർ ടി. കെ. നായർ:— സർ, ഞങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്ന സംഗതിയെക്കുറിച്ചു ചുരുക്കത്തിൽ രണ്ടു വാക്കു പറഞ്ഞു അവസാനിപ്പിക്കാം. റസ്പോൺസിബിൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറാണ് ഞങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നത്. റസ്പോൺസിബിൾ ഗവർണ്മെൻറും ഇന്നത്തെ ഗവർണ്മെൻറും തമ്മിൽ അന്തരമുണ്ട്. ആ സൈഡിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്ന വകുപ്പുകളെക്കുറിച്ചിൽ ആകാണം റസ്പോൺസിബിളിറ്റി; ടിവാൻജിക്കാണോ? ടിവാൻ ആണ് അവരുടെ മേലധികാരി. ആ ടിവാൻജി മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ കീഴിലാണ്. പൊതുജനങ്ങളോടു റസ്പോൺസിബിളാണോ? അല്ല. ഞങ്ങൾ ആവശ്യപ്പെടുന്നത് ഈ നിയമസഭയോടു റസ്പോൺസിബിളായിട്ടുള്ള ഗവർണ്മെൻറു വേണമെന്നാണ്. അതേ ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വേണ്ടു. അതു തരണമെന്ന് ഈ നിയമസഭ സ്ഥാപിച്ച കാലത്തുതന്നെ നമ്മുടെ പൊന്നുതമ്പുരാൻ ഉദ്ദേശമുണ്ടായിരുന്നു. റസ്പോൺസിബിൾ ഗവണ്മെൻറു എന്താണെന്നുള്ളത് ടിവാൻജി അവർകളെ ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞറിയിക്കേണ്ട ആവശ്യമില്ല. ചുരുക്കകാലത്തിനുള്ളിൽ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ടിവാൻജിയേയും ഈ നിയമസഭയേയും സംബന്ധിച്ചും, കൊച്ചി രാജ്യത്തെ സംബന്ധിച്ചും ആക്കെങ്കിലും ഒരു നല്ല അഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടോ? ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്രയിൽ ധാരാളം കൊല്ലം പരിചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തിന് കൊച്ചി രാജ്യക്കാരെപ്പറ്റി നല്ല അഭിപ്രായമുണ്ടോ? ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഞങ്ങൾ

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

രക്ഷ വല്ലതും തരണം. (ചിരി) ഞങ്ങൾക്കു ചായയും മറുമൊന്നും ആവശ്യമില്ല. (ചിരി) കുറച്ചു തന്നാൽ മതി; മുഴുവനും വേണ്ട, അതു ഭരണമായിട്ടു തരണം. അഡ്വൈസറി ബോർഡു തന്നിട്ടുണ്ട്. അതിൽ ചില അധികാരങ്ങൾ വേണമെന്നാണ് പറയുന്നത്. അഡ്വൈസറി ബോർഡു തന്നിട്ടുള്ളത് പരിചയിക്കുവാനാണെന്ന് ടിവാൻജി അവർകൾ പറഞ്ഞു. പത്തുപതിനൊന്നു കൊല്ലമായി ഞങ്ങൾ ചിരണ്ടുന്നു. സ്വല്പം പരിചയം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു കിട്ടിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ആ പരിചയം നേക്കാതിട്ടില്ലെങ്കിൽ അതു ഗവർണ്മെന്റിന്റെ തെറ്റാണ്. നേക്കാതിട്ടുണ്ടെന്നാണ് ഞങ്ങളുടെ ബോധ്യം. ആ സ്ഥിതിക്കു സ്വല്പം വല്ലതും തരണം. കഴിഞ്ഞതവണ ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഇഴുവമെമ്പർ പറഞ്ഞ അധികാരത്തിൽ കുറച്ചെങ്കിലും വിട്ടുതരണം. അത് ഒന്നിൽ താഴ്ന്നിപ്പറയുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണ് തെരുങ്ങിപ്പിടിച്ച ഒരു മിനിസ്റ്ററെ എങ്കിലും വച്ചുതരണമെന്നു പറയുന്നത്. യാതൊരുപ്രവൃത്തിയുമില്ലാത്തതായ വകുപ്പു വല്ലതുമുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതിന്റെ അധികാരം അവർക്കു കൊടുത്താൽ മതി. അവർ വല്ലതും തരക്കേടു ചെയ്യുകയാണെങ്കിൽ ഒരൊറ്റ വോട്ടോടുകൂടി ആ ആൾ പുറത്തുപോകുന്നതാണ്. സർ ഷൺമുഖം നമ്മുടെ കാര്യം നിറവേറ്റുവാൻ വന്ന മല്യുസ്ഥനാണെന്നു തോന്നുന്നു. ഞങ്ങൾ ഇവിടെ വോട്ടിട്ടു പസ്സാക്കുന്നതു ചിലതെല്ലാം ഗവർണ്മെന്റു തള്ളിക്കളയുന്നു. സ്വീകരിക്കാൻ വിരോധമില്ലാത്തതു സ്വീകരിക്കുന്നുമുണ്ട്. കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തെ സ്ഥിതി മുഴുവൻ ഈ ഒരൊറ്റ വോട്ടിലാണെന്നു വിചാരിച്ചാണു ഞങ്ങൾ വോട്ടു ചെയ്യുന്നത്. ചിലപ്പോൾ ഗവർണ്മെന്റു പ്രിൻസിപ്പിൾ ആക്സപ്റ്റർ ചെയ്തു എന്നു പറയും. ചിലപ്പോൾ ചെയ്യുവാൻ നിവൃത്തിയില്ലെന്നു പറയും. എന്തെങ്കിലും ചുരുക്കിതന്നാൽ മതി. ശരിയാകുന്നില്ലെന്നു കണ്ടാൽ തന്നതു തിരികെ എടുക്കാനും ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനു വിരോധമില്ലാത്തതാണ്.

ഒരു മിനിസ്റ്ററെ വെക്കുക; അങ്ങിനെ വെച്ചിട്ടു കൊള്ളാതെവന്നാൽ എടുത്തുകളയുക; ഒന്നു പരീക്ഷിച്ചു നോക്കാമല്ലോ. ഞാൻ വളരെനേരം പ്രസംഗിക്കുന്നില്ല. ഞാൻ ടിവാൻജി അവർകളുടെ അഭിപ്രായത്തിൽതന്നെ പറയാം.

"I feel it a very great privilege indeed to be called upon to propose the toast of the Institution of Engineers to-night. When my Friend Sir Guthrie Russel invited me to propose this toast this evening I was wondering within myself as to the reason that should have prompted him to ask me to propose this toast. For I must frankly confess that I know next to nothing about Engineers or engineering. But, then, I thought that my friend, Sir Guthrie, was probably actuated by the same motive as that which actuates those who make appointments for high offices in State like ministership or membership of the Executive Council; namely, utter ignorance of the subject which one

is called upon to handle. An Executive Councillor in my Province had a very old and very faithful servant. This servant one day came to him with a wry face, and said, 'Well, Sir, my son has failed in the Matriculation Examination. You know I am very poor, and cannot help him to continue his studies, and therefore I should very much like that your honour should give some appointment under Government to the boy.' The Executive Councillor replied, 'Well, my dear man, it is very difficult for your son to be given any appointment under Government, because a failed Matriculate is not qualified to get any appointment under Government. But I would ask you just to wait for one year more because an Executive Councillorship then falls vacant, and that is the only vacancy that I know of for which no qualification has been prescribed.'

ഇത്രത്തോളം പറഞ്ഞുകൊണ്ട്—അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അന്നത്തെ ട്രോപ്പർ സമർപ്പിച്ചുകൊണ്ട്—ഈ പ്രമേയത്തിൽ പറഞ്ഞ അപേക്ഷയെ അദ്ദേഹം നിരവേറിതരമെന്ന ഉത്തമവിശ്വാസത്തോടുകൂടി ഞാൻ ഇതിനെ പിന്താങ്ങുന്നു.

Mr. M. V. Cherian.—Mr. President, Sir, in the Legislative Council Regulation and Rules, there are certain prescribed items so far as the Council is concerned. We find nearly 14 items including the State Railway, the Harbour and the Palace and the Palace takes in even motor-cars. I submit that when large sums of money are spent on the Harbour and the Railway and such other items, these items are tabooed and we request the Diwan-President with all his illustrious career before, just to see that these tabooed items are not excluded from our purview. When the State is spending so much revenue on the Harbour and the Railway, it will be most appropriate that the representatives of the public are heard in that matter. In the opening speech of the Diwan we were informed something regarding the Harbour. But we were precluded from putting any questions just to elucidate further information.

Sir, since we are assumed to represent the public and we have a duty to the public, I think it is in all fairness that I submit that these tabooed items may be lessened in number or may be done away with altogether. Then, as the previous speakers said, we want some machinery that will be responsible to us. In the matter of all the Treasury Benches, their salaries and other things are not votable. We do not want them to be made votable. We want only to see that there must be somebody responsible to us and that there must be some control. The Diwan with a minister or two will be able to control the officers and whenever we find that the ministers are not doing their duty

properly and that they are not discharging their responsibility, by a vote of censure we must see that they are removed. The officers filling the Treasury Benches are servants like all other servants and by our vote we do not want to remove them. Let them be permanent. But there must be somebody to control them. Our purpose is that by appointing one minister or two at least, some control can be exercised over them and the ministers will be directly responsible to this House. That is the only prayer that we are making and I think the Diwan-President will consider that these prayers are very modest and will accede to this request.

മിസ്റ്റർ കെ. ടി. മാത്യു.— സർ, ഈ പ്രമേയം ഞാൻ ഇവിടെ അവതരിപ്പിച്ച സമയം ഇൻഡ്യാരാജ്യത്തു ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തിനായി പ്രസംഗിക്കുകയും പ്രവൃത്തിക്കുകയും ചെയ്ത ആ മാത്യു ഭേദം ഇവിടെ ഇല്ലാതിരുന്നതിന് വ്യസനമുണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെങ്കിലും ഇന്ന് അദ്ദേഹം ഞങ്ങളുടെ വാദം കേൾക്കുവാൻ സന്നദ്ധനായിട്ട് ഇവിടെയിരിക്കുന്നതിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു നന്ദിപറഞ്ഞുകൊള്ളുന്നു.

ഗവർണ്മെൻറു പക്ഷത്തുനിന്ന് വളരെ ശോചനീയമായ ഒരു മറുപടിയാണ് തന്നിരിക്കുന്നത്. അദ്ദേഹമുണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ഉണ്ടിനെ വരികയില്ലായിരുന്നു എന്നു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നു. ഞങ്ങളെപ്പോലെ വളരെക്കാലം ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരത്തിനായി അസംബളിയിൽ വെച്ചും അതിന്നു പുറത്തുവെച്ചും നിലവിളിച്ച ബ്രിട്ടീഷു ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനോടും അദ്ദേഹം ആവശ്യപ്പെടുകയുണ്ടായിട്ടുണ്ട്. ബ്രിട്ടീഷു ഇൻഡ്യയിൽ ഒരു കാലത്തു ഏറ്റവും ഉയർന്ന നിലയിൽ ഇരുന്ന സർ ഷൺമുഖം ഇവിടെത്തെ ദിവാൻജിയായി വന്നിരിക്കുന്ന ഈ കാലത്തു കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തിലെ പ്രതിനിധികൾക്കു ട്രഷറി ബഞ്ചിൽനിന്നും കിട്ടിയിരിക്കുന്ന മറുപടി ഏറ്റവും ശോചനീയമായിട്ടുള്ളതു തന്നെ. ഇവിടെ കുറച്ചു ഭരണപരിഷ്കാരങ്ങൾ ഉണ്ടാക്കുന്നതിന്നു ഇന്നത്തെ ട്രഷറി ബഞ്ചിൽ ഇരിക്കുന്നവരാണ് വിരോധമായി നില്ക്കുന്നതെന്നാണോ ഞങ്ങൾ മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടത്? ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വിരോധമായി നില്ക്കുന്നതു ദിവാൻജിയല്ല എന്നാണോ മനസ്സിലാക്കേണ്ടത്? ദിവാൻജി അവർകൾ ഇന്നത്തെ ഉദ്യോഗസ്ഥന്മാരുടെ മന്ത്രങ്ങളിൽ അകപ്പെടുകയില്ലെന്നാണു ഞാൻ വിശ്വസിക്കുന്നത്. ഇന്നു അദ്ദേഹം ഇവിടെ ഇരിക്കുന്നത് ഗവർണ്മെൻറിനെ പ്രതിനിധീകരിച്ചാണ്. ഇന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തിന് എന്തെങ്കിലും ചെയ്യുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലേക്കു ശരിയായ ഉപദേശങ്ങൾ കൊടുക്കുന്നതിന് ഇന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തിന് സാധിക്കും. അദ്ദേഹം കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഉപദേശങ്ങൾ മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ട് തള്ളിക്കളയുമെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുവാൻ ന്യായം കാണുന്നില്ല. അദ്ദേഹം ഒരു ദിവാൻ എന്ന നിലയിൽ കൊടുക്കുന്ന ഉപദേശങ്ങൾ തിരുമനസ്സുകൊണ്ടു

തള്ളിക്കളയുമെന്നു വന്നാൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ഒരു മാന്യൻ ദിവാൻജി സ്ഥാനം സ്വീകരിച്ച് ഇവിടെയിരിക്കുകയില്ല. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പൂർവ്വചരിത്രമാലോചിച്ചാൽ അദ്ദേഹം ഇന്നിവിടെ ഇരിക്കേണ്ട ആളല്ല. അങ്ങനെയുള്ള ഒരു പുമാനാണ് അദ്ദേഹം. കൊച്ചിരാജ്യത്തിന് ഇതിന്നുമുമ്പു ഇങ്ങനെയുള്ളൊരു ദിവാൻജിയെ കിട്ടുവാൻ സാധിച്ചിട്ടില്ല. ബ്രിട്ടീഷിൻഡ്യയിൽ ഒരു കാലത്ത് പൊതുജനഭരണസ്ഥാപനത്തിനായി പ്രയത്നിച്ച ആ പുമാനാണ് നമ്മുടെ ഇപ്പോഴത്തെ ദിവാൻജി. അദ്ദേഹം ഭാരതപ്പുഴ കടന്നുതോടുകൂടി അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങളും ആഭിമുഖ്യമെല്ലാം ഭാരത പുഴയിൽ എറിഞ്ഞുകളഞ്ഞുവെന്നു വിചാരിക്കുവാൻ ന്യായമില്ല. നമുക്ക് ഇത്തരത്തിലുള്ള ഒരു ദിവാൻജിയെ കിട്ടിയപ്പോൾ ഉണ്ടായ ഫലം എന്താണെന്നു ഞാൻ പറഞ്ഞറിയിക്കേണ്ടതായിട്ടില്ല. ഇനിയും പലതും ഈ രാജ്യക്കാർക്ക് അദ്ദേഹത്തിൽനിന്നു കിട്ടുമെന്നു വിചാരിപ്പാൻ വഴിയുണ്ട്. ഏതെങ്കിലും ചിലതെല്ലാം നമുക്കു അദ്ദേഹത്തിൽനിന്നും കിട്ടുമെന്നുള്ളതു തീർച്ചയാണ്. അത് ഏതുതരത്തിലാണു കിട്ടുവാൻ പോകുന്നതെന്ന് അടുത്ത കാലത്തു നമുക്കു കാണാൻ കഴിയുമെന്നു ഞാൻ പറയുന്നുള്ളു.

Mr. President.—Before I put the resolution to the vote of the House, I would just like to make one or two observations, partly with a view to clear the position of the Government with regard to this resolution and partly with a view to express in unambiguous terms my own attitude with regard to this resolution. I am constrained to do so because of the personal appeal that has been made to me and the reference made to my past political career. I can assure the House that it was not the intention of the Government in the reply given by the Secretary to Government that the Government are opposed to this resolution and that they offer a blank 'no' to this question. I want the House to understand that that is not the attitude. So far as my own attitude towards constitutional reforms in this State is concerned, I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that the inevitable consequence of the existing state of administration and the scheme of constitution working in the State is the realisation of some form of responsible Government. At the same time, I can assure Hon'ble Members that ever since I assumed charge of this responsible office, I have made it a point to study this question from these various aspects, and in fact, the very first problem that brought itself forcibly to my notice in my study is the absence in the State of that scheme of organisation of a permanent Secretariat, which, as I said in my Budget speech, is an indispensable condition precedent to the working of any responsible Government. So, it was not

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merely as an eye-wash that I made the observation that in re-constituting the Secretariat, I have, to some extent, laid the foundation of responsible Government in the State and later on before I ventured to launch upon a more detailed study of the problem I thought that at the earliest possible moment we must devise some means of utilising the existing machinery itself and getting the maximum benefit out of that machinery in the form of non-official influence and it was purely from that point of view that I took the next step of constituting these various advisory committees. Having myself had the experience of the working of such committees elsewhere, I might assure Hon'ble Members that I do not attach any exaggerated importance to these committees. But at the same time, as one who knows the value of committee work, I would ask Hon'ble Members not to belittle the importance of these committees. In spite of repeated declarations to the contrary, in spite of the actual results of the meetings of these advisory committees during the last six months, I am sorry to find that there is still a great deal of mis-conception regarding the working of these committees. Even now I hear the criticism that there is no non-official majority voting in the advisory committees. Hon'ble Members who are members of the advisory committees will tell this House that during all these meetings neither the officials who took part in the discussions, nor the Chairman of the committee took part in the voting at all. Each committee consists of 3 non-official members two of whom are elected by the House and one nominated with a view to secure representation of unrepresented communities and interests. And so far as the voting is concerned, it is entirely left to the 3 non-official members of the committee and the members of these committees will bear me out in this statement of mine. In course of time, it is the intention of Government to publish not merely the proceedings of these committees, but also the action taken by Government on their recommendations; and Hon'ble Members will find, when these reports are published, that not merely have these discussions in the committees been of great value to them, but in most of the cases Government have accepted the recommendations of these committees. That will be made plain when the proceedings of these committees and the resolutions of these committees are published in due course.

What I want to impress upon this House is that ever since my advent into this State I have kept in my mind the problem of further constitutional reforms and I might assure the House that it will continue to occupy my attention. (Hear, hear). But

I would ask Hon'ble Members not to shut their eyes to the limitations imposed not merely upon myself but upon the State itself in the study of the problem of constitutional reforms. We are on the eve of very momentous changes in India as a whole. The elections to the Provincial Councils will take place about the end of this year or at the beginning of next year and it is expected that soon after that Federation will be established. It is also expected that a great many important States will join the Federation so as to make the idea of federation materialised. I made it plain so far as I especially was concerned, that if I am here at the time when this question of Federation comes up, I would unhesitatingly advise His Highness that the State of Cochin should enter the federation. This is only my personal view and that view I hold at present in the light of the facts known to me. I do not know when the actual instrument of accession comes to be examined whether I will have to change that view. But I hope that such a contingency will not arise. Now, the establishment of the Federation in India and the accession of a number of States in the Federation will, in my opinion, hasten the day when responsible Government will be established in a number of Indian States. It is impossible for the Indian States which will be thrown into the wider life of India to escape the influences of democratic institutions, and responsible Government, and, in my opinion, it is only a question of time as to when actually responsible Government will come into operation in the Indian States. I have devoted some attention to the study of the problem of responsible Government in British India. That was bristled with difficulties. But the problem of responsible Government in an Indian State bristles with even greater difficulties than the problem of responsible Government in British India, (Hear, hear) because here in the Indian States, we have to keep in mind, when considering the question of responsible Government, not merely the relation between the people and the Ruler which in a State like Cochin is simple, but the relation between the State and the Paramount Power itself. It is a problem in constitutional law, which is of tremendous significance and importance, and I wonder how many subjects of Indian States who have applied their minds to the study of constitutional problems in their respective States have realised the difficulties that crop up in the way as a result of the necessary adjustments that have to be made between the State and the Paramount Power, when you think of responsible Government in the State. By treaties, by usages and by various other means, there have come into existence

various rights and responsibilities between the ruler of an Indian State and the Paramount Power. At present the ruler of an Indian State is enabled to discharge those obligations because legally he is an autocrat and the problem has to be thought out as to how far the ruler of a State can reconcile that position of responsibility to the Paramount Power, when once he divests himself of that responsibility with regard to the internal administration of the State. In fact, I am throwing out this suggestion, not with a view to put obstacles in the way but to offer a suggestion to the people of Cochin that they may study the problem of constitutional development from this aspect as well, because, as I have observed in the budget discussions about the constitutional reform in Indian States, nobody has ever applied his mind to this problem of the relationship between the State and the Paramount Power, and necessary adjustments will have to be made in case a scheme of responsible Government is to be introduced in the State. I do hope that this idea will be taken up and constitutional historians and students in the Cochin State will apply their minds to it. I make this appeal not merely with a view to arouse the academic interests of students of constitutional law but with a view to get practical suggestions myself as to how these various problems might be tackled. I might assure you that so long as I am here, it will certainly be my endeavour to apply my mind to a study of this problem and I certainly shall offer to His Highness, the advice which in my opinion seems to be the best in the interests of the Cochin State as a whole.

Resolution was put and carried.

Mr. K. M. Ibrahim.—*"The Council recommends to the Government to establish a popular Government in this State that would give prominence to the welfare of the property-less majority, the labourers and the peasants."*

* Sir, I don't want to detract from the importance and solemnity of a resolution that has been already passed which is on a identical matter by my Hon'ble friend, the Member for Kunnamkulam by formally moving the resolution. I might remark, Sir, that this resolution contemplates to transcend higher grounds than the one that has already been passed. But just to make out a case that we can reduce ourselves to practical dimensions when there is an essential opportunity requiring it, I shall for the present be satisfied if the demand of the Hon'ble

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

Member for Kunnamkulam is met and met in the expeditious way as Sir Shanmukham as the Diwan has been pleased to confer. So, I do not formally move the resolution.

18. Taking of jubilant processions before places of public worship.

മിസ്റ്റർ വി. കെ. കുട്ടി.— “ക്ഷേത്രങ്ങളുടേയും, പള്ളികളുടേയും, മറ്റു ദേവാലയങ്ങളുടേയും പ്രാർത്ഥനാമന്ദിരങ്ങളുടേയും മുമ്പിൽകൂടി, ഘോഷയാത്ര കൊണ്ടുപോകുന്നത് എല്ലാവിധ വാദ്യഘോഷങ്ങളും നിറുത്തി വേണ്ടതാണെന്ന് ഒരു വിളംബരം പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുവാൻ ഈ യോഗം മഹാരാജാവു തിരുമനസ്സിലെ ഗവർണ്മെന്റിനോടു ശുപാർശ ചെയ്യുന്നു.”

മിസ്റ്റർ പ്രസിഡണ്ടു, സർ, ഭാരതഭൂമിയുടെ നാനാഭാഗത്തും നിമിഷപ്രതിയെന്നപോലെ, ഘോഷയാത്രകളും പ്രദക്ഷിണങ്ങളും ഉണ്ടാക്കിക്കൊണ്ടിരിക്കുന്ന അനന്തരങ്ങൾക്ക് ഒരു കയ്യടകണക്കുമില്ല. ഘോഷയാത്രകളുടെ ജനയിതാക്കളിലും അതിൽ പങ്കുകൊള്ളുന്നവരിലും മിക്കവേരും നിരക്ഷരന്മാരും വെറും ആഡംബരത്തിനും അനുകരണത്തിനും വേണ്ടി അപ്രകാരം വേഷംകെട്ടുന്നവരുമാണെന്നുള്ളതും എറക്കറെ പ്രസിദ്ധമായിട്ടുള്ള പരമാർത്ഥം തന്നെയാകുന്നു.

ദേവാലയങ്ങളുടെ പരിസരങ്ങളിൽ വാദ്യഘോഷങ്ങളോ, മറ്റു ശബ്ദകോലാഹലങ്ങളോ ഉണ്ടാക്കരുതെന്നു മതാചാര്യന്മാർ പറയുന്നതിലെ തത്വത്തെക്കുറിച്ചാണ് ഒന്നാമത് അന്വേഷിക്കേണ്ടത്. ഏതു മതക്കാരുടെയും ദേവാലയങ്ങൾ അവരുടെ ഭക്തിയോഗത്തിന്റെയോ, പ്രാർത്ഥനകളുടെയോ പരിശുദ്ധ സങ്കേതങ്ങളാണെന്നുള്ളതിനു തക്കമില്ല. ശാന്തിവിളയാടേണ്ട ഒരിക്കലും ദേവാലയങ്ങൾ. ഹിന്ദുക്കളുടെ ദേവാലയങ്ങളിൽ പാലും ചില പ്രത്യേക പൂജകൾക്കുവേണ്ടി ശാന്തമായ ഗീതങ്ങളും വാദ്യങ്ങളും മാത്രമേ പാടുള്ളൂ എന്നാണ് അറിയപ്പെടുന്നത്. മനോനിയന്ത്രണത്തെപ്പോലെ പ്രയാസമേറിയ ഒരു കാര്യവും ലോകത്തില്ല. “ആറ്റിലെ മണൽ എണ്ണിത്തിട്ടുപ്പെടുത്താം, കാരറിനെ കയറുകൊണ്ടു കെട്ടിനിറുത്താം, മനസ്സാകുന്ന കാരറിനെ അവനവന്റെ ആത്മാവിൽ നിറുത്തുവാൻ സാധിക്കയില്ല.” എന്നിങ്ങനെ ഒരു യോഗി ഘോഷിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ഭാരതഭൂമിയുടെ വലിയ വേദാന്തമായ ഭഗവൽഗീതയിൽ മനോനിയന്ത്രണത്തെപ്പറ്റി ശ്രീകൃഷ്ണൻ അജ്ഞാനനോടു പറയുന്ന ഭാഗങ്ങൾ നമ്മളിൽ മിക്കവേർക്കും അറിവുള്ളതാണല്ലോ. ഇസ്ലാം മതവും ക്രിസ്തുമതവും മറ്റുമതങ്ങളും ദേവാലയങ്ങളിലെ ശാന്തിഭാവത്തെ ഒരു വിധത്തിലും ഭേദിക്കരുതെന്നുള്ള തത്വത്തെ മുറുകെ പിടിച്ചുകൊണ്ടാണിരിക്കുന്നത്. പരമ്പരയാ അനുഷ്ഠി